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ABSTRACT

This monograph examines the area of correctional counseling--where it has been, where it is and where it is going. A historical overview is presented which traces development from the early part of this century, together with the settings in which such counseling has been offered. Various types of counseling techniques and settings are described. New approaches to working with incarcerated persons are delineated, including placement in group homes and peer counseling. Several specific programs are briefly described, and some practical guides for program implementation are presented. (CJ)

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What's Happening in Counseling in Corrections

Lawrence A. Bennett
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This chapter presents a brief historical review of counseling in the correctional setting, tracing it's development from the early 1900's to the present. Brief descriptions are presented of the varying settings in which counseling occurs, the vast differences in the clientele to be served, and the widely differing approaches used in counseling efforts. Some erroneous assumptions that have persisted through the years are examined together with brief explanations of plausible reasons for criminal behaviors.

Chapter I

Historical Overview of Correctional Counseling

For the last 200 years, workers in the field of crime and punishment have struggled more systematically to find ways of motivating offenders to modify their behavior toward greater social conformity. The emergence of the training model in the early 1900's represented a swing away from the belief of earlier years that punishment, in and of itself, was sufficient to insure that people would change the manner in which they attempted to solve their social problems. Following the disillusionment resulting from the failure of vocational training to "cure" social ills, "treatment" entered the field. Introduced by religionists and given major impetus by the psychiatric profession, this approach has also come to be doubted. Several investigators have questioned whether any training or treatment approach can affect the subsequent adjustment of criminals. Despite these attacks (and they are becoming more numerous and are being voiced by individuals in high places), correctional workers, probation officers, parole agents, correctional counselors, and correctional officers continue to maintain the belief that something can be done. This monograph will outline some of those efforts, particularly those related to activities that can be classed as counseling.

From a traditional view, the initial approach to a problem must be in terms of definition. Already we are in trouble, for while "counseling" may be easily described, it is not so easily defined. On the one hand, the activities that might be characterized as counseling blend into more detailed, intensive activities that are called psychotherapy. On the other hand, the applications of some psychotherapeutic methods such as behavior modification may be included within an individual counseling framework.

For the purposes of this discussion, the following working definition of counseling is presented:

> Planned interaction between the correctional worker and a client or group of clients--probationers, prisoners, or parolees--with the aim of changing the pattern of the recipients' behavior toward conformity to social expectation.

It should be noted that this does not clearly separate counseling activities from psychotherapy, but we may make the assumption that psychotherapy is aimed at the resolution of internal, personal problems which may be related to delinquent and criminal behavior, and is carried out by a professionally trained psychiatrist, psychologist, or social worker specifically prepared to engage in this activity (more of this later as basic assumptions are examined).

In addition to providing an overview of what is currently going on in counseling in the correctional field, this monograph will present general guidelines on the various kinds of approaches that might be initiated in correctional settings. The various settings within which counseling is now taking place will be examined, and, since the correctional apparatus has stratified along the lines of governmental structure, variations related to these different levels will be explored.

Clients of the correctional system are individuals with unique needs. While some approaches involve individualized treatment programs, more and more institutions are becoming unable to provide that level of counseling. Rather, clients with different characteristics are being grouped together. Various counseling practices associated with these subgroups of counselees will be described.

Diversity of treatment approaches has already been suggested by the discussion thus far. The variations and similarities among the numerous approaches will be discussed and new, innovative approaches identified. Evaluation of correctional programs is gaining ascendance;

and counseling efforts, like any other program, should be evaluated in terms of benefit, value, and impact. Selective research in the area of counseling will be reviewed, along with suggestions for improvement of the evaluative process.

Brief Historical Review

Counseling, as such, does not emerge as an unique and separate program until the early 1900's; however, it seems likely that some form of counseling between religious leaders and inmates took place in the earliest days of the penitentiary system in the United States.

Present-day group counseling and its variations are an outgrowth of psychotherapeutic efforts developed by psychologists and psychiatrists. Slavson and Moreno both claim credit for the development of group techniques--Moreno (1957) in the area of psychodrama and Slavson (1950) in role-playing behavior with children. Therapy became more widely used following World War II. Practical needs dictated that some method be developed to make more efficient use of the available professional talents. While Slavson and Moreno viewed group work as a therapy of choice, subsequent applications were based, unfortunately, on sheer economics. That is, group treatment approaches were substituted for individual ones on the basis that in a given hour of a professional's time, eight to ten more clients could be seen.

Group counseling entered the prison systems of the nation sometime in the early 1940's. In California, in 1944, this type of approach was introduced into the Reception Center at San Quentin. Certificated teachers with some training in educational counseling conducted the groups. Sometimes called "social living," the procedures involved didactic lectures as well as discussions and emotional interchanges (Fenton, 1961).

By the early 1950's counseling activities were beginning to expand. One of the most ambitious programs was initiated by Dr. Norman Fenton in California in 1954. It was centered around a strong training program, followed by apprenticeship/supervision. A wide variety of workers became involved in conducting groups--vocational instructors, correctional officers, tradesmen, work foremen, and clerical workers, as well as academic teachers. Once developed, the counseling program involved well over 50% of the inmate population, by 1961 the number participating each week in group counseling in the California prison system was an impressive 10,000 inmates and 700 employees (Fenton, 1961). Despite these counseling efforts, however, only about 8% of correctional and penal institutions reported that group therapy was a portion of their program, according to a survey made by the American Group Psychotherapy Association in 1950 (Sandhu, 1974).

Across the nation, programs began to develop rapidly. By the early and mid-1960's group counseling, usually of a Rogerian orientation, had spread to those correctional systems not earlier involved. In California in 1966, 14,000 to 16,000 offenders were involved in group counseling (Dunbar, 1966).

Arnold and Stiles (1972) report that a survey covering this period showed an increase in the percentage of institutions using group methods from 35% in 1950, to 50% in 1959, to 70% in 1966. They caution, however, against overinterpretation of these data in that, of the 70% of the institutions providing group treatment, one-fifth included fewer than 20% of the institution's inmates. By the early 1970's some correctional systems having considerable experience with this approach to counseling came to question its value. In turn, these systems started to explore new and different ways to deal with the modification of the attitudes and feelings contributing to criminal behavior.

Settings for Counseling

Most of the literature on the subject of counseling offenders deals with counseling, group counseling, and some of the newer approaches as they apply in the prison setting. Good reasons for focusing on this setting are the concentration of inmates, the ease of mobilizing professional help, and the strong feelings of the public that "something must be done." However, counseling of offenders takes place in other settings. For those not incarcerated but placed under the supervision of a probation officer, individual counseling has been a mainstay since the inception of the probationary concept. It is only recently and rather sporadically that group techniques or other methods have been introduced into probationary supervision. Some of the more innovative approaches will be examined in later sections of this paper. The activities in the area of parole parallel those in the area of probation, but, surprisingly, have resulted in the selection of quite different techniques.

Local jails probably represent one of the greatest wastelands in terms of treatment of any kind, especially in regard to counseling. Many settings within the correctional system would be appropriate for counseling activities. These include diversionary programs, group homes for juvenile officers, and halfway houses, as well as juvenile and adult felony institutions.

There are also distinct differences between counseling clients at the local, state, and federal levels. Differing statutes and jurisdictions cause individuals involved in similar kinds of crimes to be handled by different levels of government, therefore receiving different kinds and quality of treatment.

Different Clients

The people we designate as offenders are a very heterogeneous group who show more differences than similarities, and are quite individualistic in their problems and needs. Counseling efforts have been distributed along a variety of dimensions in an attempt to determine what kinds of programs might be most appropriate for different kinds of individuals. Counselors have attempted to deal with the pre-delinquent, the juvenile offender, the young adult offender, and the hardened criminal. Within these groups are also the subgroups of the alcoholic, the drug abuser, the sexual offender, and the emotionally disturbed. Offenders range from the truant to the murderer, the "Peeping Tom" to the rapist, the kleptomaniac to the bank robber. In some situations similar approaches are used with all kinds of clients; in other settings, attempts have been made to use different approaches for different kinds of problems. As can be seen from the wide range of offenses and the multi-dimensional causal factors of crime, we are dealing with complex, many-faceted behaviors within an infinitely diverse client population—obviously, no single treatment can be expected to work in all cases.

Different Approaches

Some techniques, such as certain kinds or types of behavior modification, can be applied only in individual, one-to-one relationships. Other approaches can be either individual or group-oriented and, given the numbers of people subjected to the correctional process and the limited funds and personnel available, the emphasis tends to be placed rather consistently on group applications.

Another determination of what techniques will be most appropriate is whether the aim of the program is to modify either the internal variables or the observable behavior of the individual without regard to attitudinal shifts. Along similar lines will be an exploration of the differences in values of counseling approaches that emphasize the study of personal historical developments versus "here and now" interaction.

Directive versus client-centered, lay or paraprofessional counseling versus professional counseling, small group versus therapeutic community are all areas that must be viewed to get a comprehensive understanding of the meaning and significance of the counseling programs being attempted throughout the total correctional spectrum.

Some Basic Assumptions

One of the most basic assumptions underlying the application of all counseling efforts is that offenders can and do change in their approach to life. While this may appear to some to be a self-evident truth, the fact is that for many hundreds of years, "criminal types" were identified and, even as late as the early 1900's, drastic labels were employed that implied constitutional defects that predisposed an individual to crime to such an extent that any change in adjustment was impossible. Views still persist on the part of some correctional workers that some individuals are "inherently bad," and we see the same attitude on the part of psychiatric staff when they use the term "psychopathic personality"--a label that has been erased from the nomenclature for 25 years. It was not too long ago that the definition in the diagnostic nomenclature classifying this group included the idea that if the individual responded to treatment, s/he could not be a true psychopath (logic remarkably similar to the "dunking test" for witches in early American times).

At any rate, the treatment model of correctional practice now embraces the concept that most, if not all, inmates can respond to some sort of therapeutic or counseling intervention, and that these learning experiences can be accompanied by concomitant changes in behavior. Counseling, in its formative stages, developed from a psychotherapeutic base and therefore places considerable emphasis on "understanding" and "insight" as underlying prerequisites for overt changes in behavior. Melitta Schneideberg describes this very well in her recent book (1974):

> There can be no cure without understanding. Psychotherapy must always be combined with other types of help and can only be effective against the background of social and legal justice (p. 137).

Freud's "talking cure," supplemented by Rogerian theories of nondirective counseling helped shape the methodology in corrections. The idea was that talking through problems deeply buried within the unconscious could bring them to consciousness and full understanding, thus lessening their crippling influence and freeing the individual to function more appropriately. The belief that reducing interpsychic tension could bring relief from symptoms, although somewhat magical in nature, was held by many. This procedure, when achieved under therapeutic conditions, is labeled "insight." Other classic concepts of counseling - identification, defense mechanisms, id, ego, superego, libidonal energy, drive, and other Freudian and neo-Freudian concepts - all relate internal dynamic structures to criminal behavior and incorporate these into the counseling model.

The transition from therapy to counseling was an attempt to introduce to the client the opportunity for examination of a variety of alternatives to a problem solution. As anyone who has worked with law violators will quickly recognize, many of these individuals are quite limited in their ability to adapt to different roles in life. As a result, it is difficult for them to see the world from the other fellow's point of view. Adjustment difficulties, then, often appear to be the result of an individual's trying to adapt a single solution to a broad set of personal, social, and emotional problems. This, quite naturally, brings us to a discussion of the idea that counseling might be able to assist in the battle against crime through the rehabilitation of offenders. Many would argue that most offenders are not mentally ill, but are in need of basic counseling and positive social models.

Once the idea that offenders were some sort of "incurable monsters" was overcome, the next logical trap into which most people fell was that such individuals were "sick." They were characterized as maladjusted, anti-social, and mentally ill. All these terms are simply psychiatric euphemisms for "bad." However, there was a strong belief that somehow people could be "corrected" by becoming "adjusted," and subsequently reentering the mainstream of society in a positive manner.

Such an approach fitted neatly with the psychotherapeutic activities of the time that directed considerable efforts toward exploring the developmental history underlying the "complexes" that caused the problems being observed. Later, disillusionment with this medical model started to develop on at least two observable bases. The first of these was that a number of people seemed to develop and understand their problems without any change in behavior. The second was that even though some people developed this understanding *and* improved their behaviors while under direct supervision, they reverted to unlawful behavior when the supervision ceased.

The major problem here involves a basic assumption that has never been fully examined with any scientific rigor. In the first place, little or no solid evidence exists to support the notion that most violators are seriously emotionally disturbed, or emotionally disturbed at all. If we assume that a disturbed person is one who would require the services of a profesional mental health worker in the community, then we would find only a very few would not qualify. Most surveys being in search of personality maladjustment and therefore tend to find it. A recent survey of the extent of serious emotional problems among inmate prison populations during various periods of times suggested that the key factor was the number of psychiatrists available to make such diagnoses rather than the maladjustment of the individual inmates involved (see Brodsky, 1973, pp. 61-67, for further discussion of the medical model).

The second part of this contested basic assumption has to do with whether violations of the law are actually expressions of emotional maladjustment. It seems quite likely and altogether possible for illegal behavior to occur as a fairly reasonable solution to situational stresses of various kinds. For the purpose of this paper, this question will remain essentially unanswered, but keeping it in mind will remind the readers that no matter how effective a psychotherpay or counseling program might be, it will be helpful for only a portion of the group for which it has been designed.

Summary

Counseling in corrections has developed from an essentially punitive orientation to a belief that offenders can learn new behaviors through supportive and positive kinds of activities. Because the individuals in the correctional system vary from predelinquents to hardened criminals, a wide variety of techniques and approaches is necessary for dealing with their problems and concerns. Counselors in this field believe strongly that offenders are not inherently bad or sick but in most cases are responding to internal and situational stresses with inappropriate behaviors, and that they can and do change with professional help.

Within this chapter attempts are made to examine in some detail various approaches to counseling offenders, along with a brief exposition of their different theoretical orientations, and of their implementation within the correctional setting.

Chapter II

Approaches to Counseling in the Correctional Setting

Individual Counseling

The effectiveness of individual counseling in changing behavior or in reducing delinquent behaviors has never been adequately researched. One of the major disadvantages of individual counseling is the tremendous cost, and thus inefficient utilization, of staff time, the simple economic efficiency of group approaches probably accounts for their rapid acceleration and spread across the nation. Despite whatever limitations may be identified, however, individual counseling remains a mainstay of much of the work within correctional systems. Consider, for example, the probationary system. To the extent that probation relies upon some sort of interpersonal relationship to change behavior, individual counseling is far and away the most common technique employed--group procedures have been used in this field only sporadically.

While documentation is not readily available, it can be assumed that the earliest efforts in the area of individual counseling tended to be authoritarian, probably mixed with religious exhortations, and changed later to more inspirational, cajoling kinds of efforts, and in more recent years moving to discussions of alternative modes of responding to problems and attempting to relate to offenders in an empathetic, accepting manner.

Group Counseling

The movement from individual counseling to group counseling was probably predicated more on economic conditions rather than on any theoretical rationale, but certainly theoretical trappings have accompanied the use of group counseling. Roberts (1972) noted that inasmuch as many theories about delinquent behavior involve the concept of peer pressure, group counseling aimed toward developing positive peer pressure can be theoretically supported.

Much has already been said or written about the economic advantages of group counseling. Too often correctional administrators view with joy the possibility of treating large numbers of individuals at little cost, without realizing that group counseling is a different kind of treatment approach. The contributions of Slavson and Moreno were mentioned earlier. Another main influence was the National Training Laboratory's "sensitivity training" program. Social group work has also come to be an accepted activity within social work, and is a main component of graduate training in social work and psychology curriculi.

Group counseling cannot be defended only on the basis of its economic advantages, and is often doomed to failure if undertaken solely for economic reasons. Correctional settings with open dormitory living quarters adapt themselves well to groups. Many of the activities in these settings involve groups, whether structured by staff or spontaneously formed by the residents. When group counseling opportunities are not structured around resident needs and treatment goals within an institution, inmate cliques can become very powerful, and the groupings are often less healthy for individual growth and effective operation of the correctional facility. Groupings, when left to offenders, are often established along religious lines, home town associations ("homies"), offense partners ("rappies"), racial lines, and/or sexual habits ("fags"). These groupings can result in intragroup misunderstandings, unnecessary tension among residents, and breakdown of interaction with staff.

The advantages of group over individual counseling are often debated, and many of the issues become clouded in a penal institution. Within this setting, the unique characteristics possessed by the members of the group make group counseling a radically different treatment modality from individual counseling. Several major factors can be identified as being responsible for this differnece.

First of all, the "inmate code" in youth and young adult institutions, and the "way of the con" in adult facilities do not allow for free expression with staff because it can so easily be construed as "snitching" and create problems for the inmates. As a result, residents are quite reluctant to express themselves openly in group counseling situations. This behavior, coupled with a great reluctance to show feelings, makes group counseling in correctional institutions excessively difficult.

Offenders also want to appear "tough" to others, thereby reducing their vulnerability to peer pressure in the institutional compound. Often residents will interpret a display of feelings as weakness and will therefore guard carefully against any public show of emotion. Anyone who has ever been a correctional group counselor can easily attest to this reluctancy. An example of this occurred at the Federal Correctional Institution at Milan. While the leader was in the process of structuring a communications skills group, an inmate announced that he wanted to learn to communicate without involving his feelings, and if emotions were to be included, he would no longer participate in the group.

Another difficulty in conducting meaningful groups in correctional facilities is that they may be perceived as threatening by the inmates. Many male offenders did not have an adequate male model early in life, and it is probable that the lack of a father may create a basic insecurity regarding their own masculinity. Therefore, any threat to a resident's "manhood," such as a public display of feelings, or even joining a group, is to be shunned.

Manipulations and games are a given in the correctional setting. One common manipulation is the contention that a resident does not want anyone knowing about his or her business, and therefore he or she will talk about everything and say absolutely nothing. The ploy, as in most group situations, is to keep the conversation away from self and onto others or, preferably, general topics. Many qualified therapists have led discussion groups in prison settings without ever having any participant touch on the "self" or "I."

With all of these built-in barriers to group counseling in corrections, it becomes apparent that counselors must possess great dedication to run meaningful groups. The mistrust does not extend solely from inmates toward staff; staff members frequently develop stereotypes and mistrust the residents. In order to transcend this mutual negative feeling, an open-honest approach is needed by both parties. Development of openness takes time, patience, a sound understanding of the goals of the group, and the means for achieving these goals. Manipulations and games must be recognized and brought up for consideration, and this takes experience not only in counseling techniques but also in working with offenders and dealing with them on a human level.

Several aspects of the group situation can be singled out as being important to and advantageous in the rehabilitation process. First, the group can be perceived as being very similar to the family. Playing the various roles within the group that are so often observed in family situations, such as expressing sibling rivalry or vying for the attention of the parent, can hopefully aid in developing understanding of one's place among others. This idea of family simulation can be carried too far, but often can serve as a conceptually sound way of expressing dynamics within a group.

Second, group problem solving has been shown, as documented in many sociology and social psychology texts, to have definite advantages over individual solutions. The idea is that a wider variety of problem solutions can be elicited by drawing upon the experience of several people with varying backgrounds. Thus, one individual's problem may have already been solved by another, and the solution can be offered and applied. This notion of the generalizability of problem situations and their concomitant solutions is crucial in the correctional milieu where so often the "inmate code" is to "do your own time." Such an attitude results in social alienation with the accompanying feelings of distrust of others, suspicion, and possible loss of contact with reality. Having peers pose the solution is an added advantage and often carries more weight, especially among socially alienated groups, than if the counselor (who is perceived as alien) were to suggest it.

This leads to the third advantage of group counseling, which has to do with identification and modeling. Bandura (1969) suggests conditions under which modeling can occur most readily, one of which is that a person can more readily model (that is, identify with) behaviors of individuals with attitudes, mores, background, and situations similar to his own. The third concept, therefore, will be more pronounced in correctional settings than in the mental health field. Inmates, parolees, or probationers, because of their distaste for "The Man" or because of some sort of "code," have a strong distrust for any advice or ideas presented by staff members. Thus, the group offers individuals the opportunity to learn from people they trust, and it would seem that this trust is based, in part, upon commonality of experience. Almost every correctional worker at some time has been rebuffed by a retort such as, "How in the hell would you know what I am talking about--you've never pulled any time."

One of the features that has characterized most applications of group counseling in the correctional field is the broad array of staff people involved. Whereas psychotherapy requires a psychologist or psychiatrist or a highly trained social worker, it is felt that group counseling sessions can be conducted by almost any staff person with a minimum amount of training. Thus, shop foremen, secretaries, and correctional officers, as well as the usual treatment staff, are often involved in and carry on the group counseling program. The Federal Bureau of Prisons has developed a new promotional direction for correctional officers that offers a counseling career for those so suited and motivated. Traditionally this opportunity did not exist, and an officer would advance up the custodial hierarchy, seldom having the opportunity for counseling relationships with offenders. Correctional counselors have provided valuable liaison functions, through counseling activities, between staff and offenders. These counselors may be trained by the local institutions or the Bureau of Prisons in individual and group methods as designed by Carkhuff. This method of counseling will be described later (Truax, et al., 1966; Carkhuff and Truax, 1965).

Graduate students are also commonly employed as interns in the correctional facility. These people, along with the trained correctional professional and paraprofessional counselors, usually provide a well-rounded counseling program in some of the more progressive state and federal facilities.

Within sociology, one of the major theories of delinquency concerns differential association (Cressey, 1955). This means that some people are forced to spend a great deal of time with undesirable companions, thereby becoming warped in their thinking and ending up in difficulty. Group counseling, group interaction, and other kinds of group activities can provide a corrective, positive experience that might help to offset the earlier delinquent association.

Another concept is "labeling," the process wherein an individual involved in some sort of delinquent behavior becomes characterized in the eyes of others as "delinquent," is reacted to by others on the basis of this label, and thus tends to behave in terms of what people believe about him or her. Group counseling or other counseling concepts can do little to mitigate this powerful force, although understanding the dynamics on behavior of such outside influences might enable one to maneuver more adroitly his or her attempts at personal adjustment.

Except in these approaches that require specific structure, prisoners are often left to decide for themselves how groups will be conducted. As will be seen later, this causes certain complications when it comes to evaluation. Some group leaders set up a small democratic community, encouraging the group to select a chairman, vote on topics, and delegate duties. Others systematically rotate responsibilities for topics to be discussed at the next session. Still others operate a totally laissez-faire situation that goes beyond even the non-directive approach envisioned by Carl Rogers.

In a detailed study of a large number of groups in one California institution (Kassebaum, Ward and Wilner, 1963), it was found that four types of leadership seemed to emerge. The first was inhibiting, with the leader directing the discussion, laying out certain topics, keeping the group on target. The second was stimulating, with the leader spending a great deal of time reflecting feelings, encouraging a full and open participation. The third type of leader tended either to deflect the gist of any discussion or to direct it into non-threatening channels. The fourth type was the authoritarian who favored action. If a certain problem were brought up for group discussion, s/he accepted the responsibility for trying to do something about the situation. It can be seen from this array that in studying "group counseling" one must be very careful to define carefully what is meant by that label. Hanging a "Group Counseling Session" sign outside the door of the room where sessions are being held can signify a wide variety of activities.

A number of structured group approaches has emerged in the correctional arena due in part to the nature of the clientele and setting. From experience, one readily learns that two types of offenders invariably emerge as leaders in groups: the "manipulators" and the "controllers." In groups with older offenders, manipulation of the leader for desired ends is common, while with the younger residents overt control—at times physical--is often attempted. A group counselor should structure his group carefully and have its goals clearly in mind. This may be done within the group using a consensus approach, or may be planned prior to initiating the group. The traditional Rogerian approach may not lend itself to this type of structuring, and therefore new approaches may be needed. Appropriate choices will depend on the wisdom of experienced and well-trained group leaders.

At the Milan Federal Correctional Institution (FCI) at Milan, Michigan, case management personnel (social workers), and mental health staff (psychologists) have developed a number of methods of training staff in these structuring skills. One such method is Group Leadership Training as developed by Bertcher at The University of Michigan School of Social Work. This training is offered jointly to staff and inmates and is aimed at developing specific skills which incorporate a number of counseling theories by means of thirteen structured two-hour sessions. From these sessions of readings, films, and exercises, the members actually initiate their own groups, building in the necessary structure to realize a successful experience.

At Milan FCI, group exercises as developed by NTL, Pfeiffer and Jones, Schutz and others have been invaluable for developing a meaningful group experience for those involved.

Another method of structuring groups that reduces the possible negative effects of offenders being left to their own controlling devices is to specify the treatment or counseling target for the group. From this functional model, such focused efforts as drug groups, vocational counseling groups, alcoholics groups, communication skills groups, marriage counseling groups, and parent-child communication groups emerge. These categories assemble offenders with common functional problems, and in effect help to create a natural cohesion within the group. To further enhance this effect, bringing in ex-drug addicts, ex-alcoholics, and ex-offenders to become part of the group often serves a useful purpose. Resident co-leaders also can have meaningful input into these groups.

Despite all of the ways there are of structuring a group, a counselor in corrections may frequently have to settle for what the inmates call a "rap" session. Here the main positive interaction is simply getting together once a week for conversation which many offenders find more desirable than doing their institutional work assignment. At its simplist level, it is better than leaving the residents to group themselves.

Client-Centered Counseling

One of the most powerful influences in counseling was the emergence in the '40's and '50's of Rogers' (1942) client-centered or non-directive counseling. Basic to this theory is the belief that counseling techniques could be learned in a reasonably short period of time, and that clients could gain insight into their own emotional hangups by listening to appropriate reflections of their feelings. While the approach was developed for college counseling and for dealing with mental health problems, it quickly was adopted for use in correctional settings. Because of the ease of application, the congruence of its prinicples with those of common sense, and the occasional seemingly miraculous change in the outlook of a client, the non-directive approach rapidly became the model for much of correctional counseling and was used with both individuals and groups in a variety of settings, including probation, incarceration, and parole.

To the students of Rogers, the idea of unconditional positive regard is almost a byword. Truax and Carkhuff (1965, 1967) scientifically explored the effects of non-directive counseling relative to subsequent emotional change developed through training programs, understanding, and action. They found that empathy, respect, and concern are necessary conditions for the development of understanding, out of which can then come some kind of directed action based on that understanding. In addition, having isolated a half dozen or so essential elements that must be present in a counseling interaction to insure positive outcome, Carkhuff (1968) has developed an extensive system for training personnel in the helping professions, and this system is extensively used in the Federal Bureau of Prisons and in state facilities.

Transactional Analysis

Of more recent origin, Transactional Analysis (TA) has come to assume a major role in counseling within the correctional setting. Transactional Analysis, developed by Eric Berne in 1961 (modified by Tom Harris in 1969), has been acknowledged as an effective tool in correctional therapy by Frank Ernst (1962). After an initial period of high activity in California, Transactional Analysis tapered off. In recent years, however, it has enjoyed a resurgence, particularly in the federal system, in the form of peer counseling, which will be discussed in greater detail later.

At first glance, Transactional Analysis gives the appearance of being a popularized version of Freudian psychoanalysis. The parent, adult, and child seem to parallel the superego, ego, and id. It is only after considerable training and experience in working with the process that it becomes clear that Berne and Harris are talking about ego states that are readily accessible to conscious control, not unconscious constructs. Again, the technique was designed for psychotherapeutic interventions on a broader scale and was subsequently incorporated into treatment approaches in the correctional field. Its advantage, and one that parallels the Rogerian approach, was the relative ease with which lay people could be trained in the new technique. The theory was well-structured, relatively easy to understand, and not that difficult to apply. The theoretical approach gave clients a real opportunity to develop a vocabulary useful in describing the processes that they experienced, sensations that are often difficult to put into words.

While Rogerian approaches take into consideration the relationship of the individual to those around him, the emphasis is largely upon the difficulties centering within the person. In contrast, Transactional Analysis, while legitimately applied to individual counseling, places heavy emphasis upon interactions among various individuals. Thus it, too, has quickly translated itself into a group approach.

Wichs (1974) comments that using TA with offenders has much to contribute to treatment on several different fronts. TA explores the games that both offenders and staff play to hinder rehabilitation. One game Groder (1971) points out is "KUID" ("Keep it up, doc"), where the therapist surrounds himself with patients who can be counted on to support him, even when he is ineffectual.

TA has adapted itself well to the correctional setting by pointing out this and other games that are played by staff and residents, that interfere with meaningful change. "Games" permeate many staff-resident interactions, and are often used as a ploy by both to keep distance from one another. The idea is that neither inmates nor staff are sincere in their relationship--the staff wants to look "good," to feel helpful, and to gain advancement; and the offender only plays the game to gain earlier release--leaving avoidance of each other as the simplest solution. Rather than becoming "game-wise" through these interactions, the residents and staff become "game-shy" and never transcend this level of interaction. TA contributes by supplying a common language, understandable to both, to aid in the transcending of these games through insight couched within the terminology of the methodology. Once the language is mastered, understanding replaces fear and avoidance on both fronts.

Reality Therapy

Reality Therapy (Glasser, 1965) does not distinguish between individual or group approaches. The emphasis in Glasser's model is to avoid elaborate discussions on the causes of behavior and center instead upon the behavior itself. Glasser recommends the use of Reality Therapy in the treatment of juvenile delinquents, and used it successfully in treating delinquent girls at Ventura School for Girls in California. It is his contention that the more psychoanalytically oriented therapies tend to provide offenders, particularly youthful offenders, with "excuses" for their misdeeds. According to him, it is important that every individual face squarely his failures in life, gracefully accept the punishment due, and attempt to start off in more responsible and constructive directions. Helping patients fulfill what Glasser identifies as two basic needs - the need to love and to be loved, and the need to feel that one is worthwhile to himself and others - is the basis of Reality Therapy. In order to fulfill these needs, the therapist becomes actively emotionally involved with the client, rejecting his or her unrealistic, irresponsible behavior, and at the same time teaching the client better ways to meet these needs within the confines of reality.

In the case of psychoanalytically oriented psychotherapy and in Rogerian counseling, the counselor assumes a quiescent role, allowing the client to project upon the therapist the distortions associated with parental or other early authority figures. In contrast, Reality-Therapy suggests that the counselor share frankly with the client his or her experiences in life, pointing out the values of particular achievements and techniques of adaption. The therapy gained rapid momentum because it matched so well with "common sense," and probably because it also fulfills to some extent, the need for expressing the punitive feelings of society.

Reality Therapy has enjoyed a good deal of activity in group application. Used in juvenile halls and reformatories, it can become warped to become a justification for a rather punitive, heavily disciplined approach to maintaining a quasi-military condition. When appropriately applied, however, this method can serve as a valuable tool for encouraging responsibility on the part of offenders.

Gestalt Therapy

Gestalt therapy (Fritz Perls, 1951) is fairly new on the scene, and its application is somewhat limited. Part of the reason that Gestalt therapy has not spread more extensively in the correctional setting is because of its abstract theoretical foundation and the difficulty in training counselors in its use. The basic assumption is that human beings are not mind and body, but rather a single entity, and thus we must "tune in" and integrate our totality. The techniques for achieving self-understanding through this process vary greatly, but include such things as sensory awareness exercises (subjective reporting of sensations while one takes the form of inanimate objects) and highly emotional encounter sessions.

Gestalt therapy techniques require a strong background in psychodynamics, and a willingness on the part of the therapist for total involvement with the group. This modality lends itself very well to offenders due to its focus on the "here and now," often expressed by offenders and its existential underpinnings fit well with the pessimism and the feeling that life has no meaning. Gestalt allows persons to experimentally "own" their projections, a helpful device for shifting an individual's perceived locus of control from external to internal. This approach, like Reality Therapy, encourages responsibility for one's own feelings, behaviors, and their consequences. The often used rationalization of offenders that society is out to get them can often change to a sincere awareness of their own responsibility in their dilemma. Again, it must be mentioned that Gestalt, as well as other emotionally laden approaches, is quite difficult to use successfully due to the reality of the prison experience. Whereas in free society persons in therapy groups return to their homes and families and get away from other group members, in correctional settings group members often live together in a cell or dormitory. Therefore, caution should always be taken that closure is reached within the group and that unfinished business is not carried out into the general prison setting.

Behavior Modification

One of the newer techniques in the area of counseling is behavioral modification. Hosford and Moss (1973) state the theory quite succinctly:

> . . . (the behavioral) view . . . is that anti-social (i.e., criminal) behaviors are learned in the same way socially acceptable behaviors are . . . This conceptualization . . . . has several implications . . . It implies that behaviors . . . are acquired through experience . . . and as such can be altered by changing the contingencies which maintain and control that behavior (p. 91).

Unfortunately, some people think of the application of electroshocks whenever behavior modification is mentioned. Others with a broader perspective think of positive reinforcement in terms of tokens, payments, or gold stars. As far back as the time when convicts were transported to Australia in the early 1800's, Maconochie established the basic ingredients for what is now characterized as a token or point economy. Maconochie's approach involved the following steps: 1) earned marks could be exchanged for extra food and luxuries, or to "purchase one's way out of prison"; 2) prisoners had to earn everything but the barest necessities; and 3) set tasks were not linked with time (Barry, 1965).

While, indeed, such techniques do fit under the heading of behavior modification, there is a whole array of techniques that are regularly applied in counseling or psychotherapeutic activities that are only tangentially recognized, if at all, as behavior modification. For example, there is the Greenspoon Effect, wherein nonverbal or minimally verbal reinforcers are applied to desired behavior. Suppose, for example, that one wishes to assist the client in reducing his or her use of obscenities. In individual sessions, whenever a string of epithets seems about to be emitted, the counselor, by turning slightly in the chair in such a way as almost to turn his back on the client, would apply negative reinforcement. In contrast, while normal and constructive conversation is being carried out, the counselor would be in a posture evidencing excited interest.

Careful recording of such procedures almost universally demonstrates that the undesired behavior will decrease and desired behavior will increase.

Another aspect of behavior modification is systematic desensitization. Wolpe (1969) based his work upon the psychological learning principle of reciprocal inhibition, a state of affairs where incompatible activities cannot be carried out simultaneously. The procedure helps the individual reduce the tensions involved in threatening situations by making him or her reenact them in fantasy. For example, an individual might become quite emotionally tense and incapacitated when approaching an employer about a job. A series of situations surrounding job application would be discussed with the individual, the various scenes would be arranged in a hierarchy from the least threatening to the most. With special training, the individual is taught how to reach a fairly complete state of emotional relaxation, at which time the least threatening situation is introduced in fantasy. The fantasy reenactment is repeated until all tension is dissipated; then, the next most threatening situation is introduced. This procedure is carried out over time until the most threatening is reenacted in fantasy until it no longer carries an emotional threat. A parallel has been shown to exist between the loss of tension in the fantasy situation and the ability to handle that same situation in real life.

Operant conditioning procedures have been used to reinforce certain behaviors and to extinguish others within institutional settings. Many target behaviors can be identified for the purpose of reward, such as school attendance, being on time, creative endeavors, program participation, sociability, obedience, even attendance at the counseling sessions. On the other hand, refusal to participate in programs, fighting, or other anti-social activities can be punished. The rewards include remission in sentence, early parole, determination of parole in an indeterminate sentence, furloughs, town trips, promotions, wage increases, tokens, and many other reinforcers that can be powerful motivators within a confined setting. Similarly, the punishment can be a loss, denial, demotion, forfeiture, or segregation. Quite obviously, if these rewards and punishments are used appropriately, correctional workers can influence greatly the inmates' behavior. However, these techniques, when arbitrarily used, become coercion and bribery, and are only partially successful in inmate control. One has to spend only a short time in one of our prisons to realize how readily the system of control adapts to the language used by the behaviorists, and the techniques are by no means new. What is novel is their systematic application tied to evaluative research and carried out by qualified professional workers.

The application of behavior modification in group settings probably goes beyond the usual definition of group counseling. Almost everyone is aware of token economies to encourage training, academic achievement, conforming behavior, and changes in attitude. While the opponents of such programs characterize these activities as "bribery" or "brainwashing," similar types of programs have been employed throughout correctional history with incarceration itself being an important ingredient.

Token or point economies present unique problems to the correctional setting that make these techniques difficult to initiate and follow through. A recent public outcry degrades "behavior modification" as an inhumane system of techniques designed to reduce human existence to the mechanistic. Behavior modification is more of a danger to the offender in the correctional system than to the citizen of a free society. We are all motivated by rewards and punishments. When applied to individuals who are confined in a limited space and highly motivated to leave that space, use of this group of techniques must be done carefully, within the confines of humanism, and in a spirit of benefitting rather than merely controling offenders.

This does not call for the abandonment of effective behavioral techniques in these settings, but for the education of those using these approaches. By merely stating to offenders, "If you do this, then I will give you that," the correctional worker can not only effectively control inmates but can also shape desirable behaviors that lead to societal adjustment. Behavioral contract writing with offenders and the use of a goal sheet in inmate classification can do much to clarify expectancies so that the result of confinement can be accomplishment. This is preferable to a vague sense of "What do I have to do?" by residents and staff. The goals are clearly defined and the accomplishments are easy to see.

We believe it is possible to treat the offenders humanely, while segregating them from society, and still serve a deterrent function; and we further maintain that an educated, well-meaning behavioral approach can be a valuable tool in realizing this balance. We must approach the techniques rationally and answer those we serve--both offenders and public--regarding rationale and methodology.

Family Counseling

This approach views the individual offender as part of a social network in which the family plays a leading role, and which facilitates his or her adjustment and maladjustment. Those working in a correctional setting can often witness the tremendous strain that an individual undergoes as s/he moves back into the intimate relationships of the family. The counseling program attempts to involve not only the spouse of the incarcerated individual but the children as well, since they all play a part in the acceptance of the offender and probably will influence his subsequent adjustment to a significant degree.

Dramatic illustrations of the effect that family counseling can have on some aspects of the problem have occurred in the California family visit program. Families, including children, are permitted to visit and live with the offender in a small apartment for a period of three days and two nights. One wife reported that her husband could not remain in bed on the first night, but paced the floor, and she concluded that he was feeling totally alien in the new environment. She noted that this behavior was remarkably similar to his behavior the first night at home following an earlier release from prison to parole. Bringing this to his attention and discussing it to some extent helped develop considerable understanding between the husband and wife. Earlier, the wife had erroneously assumed that her husband's strange behavior indicated a lack of affection for her. Because of this misperception about the motivation for his behavior, she reacted negatively, which led the husband to feel more and more alienated and rejected, and subsequently lead to his parole violation. It is just such problems that can be worked through in family counseling to help stave off the future development of behavior problems.

Family counseling very likely will represent one of the more rapidly developing areas of counseling in the correctional setting as the emphasis on community-based programs gains full momentum. This is not a new program, but rather one that has suffered setbacks in its development, largely because institutions are usually remote from population centers, making interaction between the inmate and his or her family extremely difficult.

At the Milan Federal Correctional Institution, a Family Unit exists that accepts only married offenders. The unit programs evolve around structured groups designed for parent training, marital counseling, and communications skills training. Where possible, efforts are made to keep the family intact and to involve the wife and children. The idea of a man's returning to his family after incarceration is strongly supported throughout the entire federal prison system. Research has shown that "blood is thicker than water," at least for parolees. Residents are therefore counseled to reestablish family ties upon release, and location of release is usually an individual's hometown.

In 1961, to reduce the alienating effect of returning from prison to the community and family, the Federal Bureau of Prisons established a network of Community Program Centers (CPC). These halfway-house CPC's provide counseling, job placement, and live-in support for offenders who previously would have been thrust after partial to total institutionalization into an alien situation. These centers are often contract facilities operated by state, local and private establishments as well by the federal government. It also must be mentioned that a significant percentage of adult offenders have no family ties, often an indication that most program efforts are doomed to failure.

Large Group Interaction (Community Living Groups)

Two specific modalities are being applied now in the correctional setting to make better use of both professional and paraprofessional staff: one is therapeutic community (TC), and the other is guided group interaction (Wicns, 1964).

Following World War II a British psychiatrist, Maxwell Jones (1953), believed that a number of people in mental hospitals did not really need to be there and that the services provided for them did not match their needs. Doctors, prestigious in their white coats, scurried about and hid in offices, making only limited, sporadic individual contacts. Nurses performed their duties in "stations" and acted in a prescribed authoritarian manner. Jones felt that if professionals acted more like people, it might motivate these marginally adjusted clients to function more effectively. He also believed patients could be useful to each other. Thus, he developed a system of ward management that became known as the "therapeutic community." This approach involves a healthy human interaction between staff and inmates, accessibility of professionals, mutual problem-solving, and a learning through experiencing human, emotional interaction.

The theoretical basis for the therapeutic community has not been well defined. One concept has to do with the idea of the group's "holding a mirror up to the individual." This point of view can be nicely meshed with that of social group work previously mentioned:

> Human beings can be understood only in relation to other human beings. What a man is, is reflected of other men toward him. What a man thinks of himself is his judgment of the reaction of other men too. The behavior pattern of any individual is a mirror of his total life experience, most of which is in groups. If one is to understand an individual, one must know the groups to which he belongs. Every individual has a different status in each of the variety of groups to which he belongs. The same individual will exhibit different patterns of behavior in different groups (Wilson and Ryland, 1949).

Many of the groups focus on current problems of living together. Thus, in institutional settings, such things as towel exchange or bunk assignments are items for lenghty analysis. Disciplinary problems are also often aired in the group setting in order to combine peer pressure toward conformity with a clear examination of the emotional components in most human interactions. Many such groups insist upon examining only "here and now" interactions. They vehemently eschew any tendency of the group to examine historical antecedents or early childhood occurrences that might account for present day behaviors. Using the concepts of historical causality or diagnostic labeling is considered non-contributory.

The group size may vary considerably but tends to range from 10 to 60 people, a much larger number than is found in usual group counseling situations where twelve participants is considered the maximum number for effective group learning.

In the TC, approaches ranging from psychoanalysis to behavior modification may be employed. However, the emphasis is usually on social activities that involve group dynamics, environmental examination, and improvement of communications. The TC was not applied extensively in the penal setting until the 1960's. One of the earliest in-depth studies was carried out between 1964 and 1966 at the NIMH Research Center in Texas. It involved 30 drug addicts, prisoners who were found to be particularly resistant to traditional therapy. The residents had developed cliques built upon reacting negatively to certain staff members. To change this situation, staff decided to give inmates traditionally held staff responsibilities, such as discipline. Inmates and staff also began to participate together in community meetings. The results of the study showed that these changes enhanced communication between staff and inmates, and the TC's rehabilitative program improved markedly (Hughes, 1970). Other studies of TC programs include The Clinton Study (Efthihiades and Fink, 1968) and The Patuxent Institution Study (Wilson and Snodgrass, 1969). This technique can be applied to a wide variety of settings, but is most often used in halfway houses operated by self-help groups.

Guided Group Interaction (GGI) was initially used with youthful offenders in the "Highfields Project" in New Jersey. The young people were in a halfway house where GGI was used extensively (McCorkle, 1958). The success of the Highfields Project led to others such as Walton Village (Montone, 1967) and the Florida and Minnesota corrections systems (Larson, 1970). The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice reported that the GGI approach at Highfields achieved positive results more effectively and efficiently--in terms of both time and cost--than do most reformitories (President's Commission, 1967).

Other Approaches

Kanfer and Saslow (1969), in their analysis of individual problems, discuss not only excesses, deficits, and assets, but also the extent of the individual's self-control, the quality of his/her social relationships, and the entire supportive environment in which the individual is operating. Bandura (1969) emphasizes "social modeling" as one of the systems through which people learn and can subsequently change.

New techniques are emerging in the area of assertive training. Here the underlying assumption is that, for many offenders, the involvement in illegal behavior occurs because of their inability to confront any emotionally threatening situation directly. Techniques range from specific instructions concerning ways to become more assertive, to modeling and role-playing, to behavioral rehearsal. These approaches represent a shift away from traditional counseling techniques--a movement away from simply "talking about" as an attempt to understand behavior toward becoming involved in action. Little concern may be given to whether the individual understands the dynamics of the change, and the methodology for achieving positive change is directed toward new habit formation.

Behavior modification, for example, although is has a negative reputation in some circles, provides a strong positive aspect in that it approaches problems differently and is markedly more effective than the traditional punishment model. In this framework, punishment is seen as an attempt to extinguish a certain type of behavior. Studies in this area support the fact that punishment can be effective in deterring behaviors, but, to be so, the aversive stimuli must be applied within seconds after the undesired behavior occurs, the severity must be sufficient to eliminate the behavior. This immediacy is next to impossible in a correctional setting. The punishment model has a further disadvantage in that it has been shown to increase emotionality (anger and fear), which interferes with learning. If the offenders are to learn more adaptive behaviors, it is self-defeating to use approaches that reduce the chances of learning. As can be seen from this brief analysis, the likelihood of such a procedure being effective, from a psychological point of view, is quite remote, given the inexactness with which it is likely to be applied in the correctional setting and the detrimental effects associated with this approach.

Positive reinforcement, on the other hand, can be effectively applied within the behavioral modification framework. In this procedure, a systematic attempt is made to reward or reinforce positive behaviors and ignore negative behaviors, which results in an increase in the likelihood that the rewarded behaviors will occur in the future. This model obviously poses problems within the correctional setting; many negative behaviors are difficult or impossible to ignore since they involve the well-being of other individuals or can even result in further criminal prosecution, e. g., use of illicit drugs in prison, assaults, and even occasional killings. These facts do not preclude, though, attempts to design positive reinforcement programs directed toward specific goals for individual offenders or groups of offenders. Using these techniques, records of change or non-change in the target behaviors can be accumulated which lead to an accurate assessment of the effects of the program. Many of the earlier counseling approaches lack the ability (or desire) to identify clearly treatment objectives, thus it is impossible to measure their results or to present statistical evidence of the efficacy of the approach.

Many correctional workers find it difficult to incorporate the non-punishment model into their thinking because it runs counter to two general public mandates of correctional facilities--those of deterrence and retribution. In direct contrast to these traditional mandates (that still permeate the system) are the concepts of rehabilitation and provision of a humane environment for persons forcibly removed from society. These vastly different approaches produce continual conflict for those responsible for both the treatment and custodial aspects of corrections.

In addition to conflicting public mandates, positive reinforcement programs can present problems in correctional settings if they are inappropriately applied by poorly trained staff. It is quite easy, for example, within a contained environment, to withdraw rights and privileges. Then, the use of these as reinforcers can be responsible for creating more negative than positive feelings in the residents. In some mental hospitals even basic bedding is removed, its return being contingent on the patients' displaying the desired behaviors. This raises a question about the motivations of correctional personnel. Who are we helping? Very often it is only the institution or ourselves.

Other emerging approaches include the use of biofeedback techniques, hypnotherapy, and meditative procedures which hold much promise for counseling efforts dealing with such problems as reduction of anxiety or rehabilitation of drug offenders. Biofeedback techniques have been applied in the Federal Correctional Facility at Tompoc, California, and Transcendental Meditation was successfully used with a group of drug offenders at the Milan Michigan Federal Correctional Institute (Ramirey, 1975).

A number of other counseling and therapy modalities have gained some prominence in correctional work. These include Offender Therapy as practiced by the Association for the Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders, Rationale-Emotive Therapy of Albert Ellis (1961), Logotherapy, and Crisis Therapy.

Summary

Approaches to counseling in corrections vary widely and encompass techniques commonly used in other kinds of counseling situations. Group counseling, while presenting unique problems in the correctional setting, is practiced in a variety of formats, depending upon the focus of the counseling efforts. Family counseling is conceived to be an important and necessary component of rehabilitation of offenders, and community living groups are now being organized to provide real-life settings in which offenders can acquire and practice more appropriate social behaviors. Many new techniques are on the horizon, and their efficacy is yet to be assessed.

This chapter discusses differing objectives that may be achieved through three major kinds of programmatic efforts: career guidance, general adjustment, and emotional reorientation. Ways of tailoring these objectives to individual client needs are also discussed.

Chapter III

Differing Objectives

The discussion of which of the widely differing approaches will be most appropriate to use in correctional counseling will often depend on the intent of the counseling effort. Activities carried out under the heading of counseling can range from direct advice-giving, through a variety of role-playing and behavior analyses, to intensive interpretations of a psychotherapeutic nature. One way of approaching this issue might be to assess the depth of involvement expected from the participant. At one end of the continuum, that of advice-giving, we expect the individual to be rather superficially involved. S/he is expected to be psychologically adjusted to the point where s/he can make intelligent choices among alternatives. His or her emotional investment is likely to be limited, and s/he is expected to respond with the conscious mind in terms of an adequately functioning ego--in TA terms, as an "adult." At the other end of the continuum, the counseling program attempts to involve the individual on a deep feeling level, with emotions brought clearly into focus so they can be examined by the individual, and often by the group, with the aim of achieving "insight" or some similar type of improved understanding of his or her own motivational pattern. In the following pages the differing objectives are discussed under the three headings of career guidance, general adjustment, and emotional reorientation.

Career Guidance

One of the current examples that involves the direct application of factual information is career counseling, including rehabilitation guidance. In correctional institutions across the nation, counselors are on hand to insure that inmates understand what programs are being offered, the employment possibilities associated with training activities, and the value and importance of education. These persons may be called educational counselors, vocational counselors, and/or rehabilitation counselors, and they provide information in different, but interrelated, areas. In other settings, the three functional areas may be combined into one, and the counseling conducted under the heading of "career guidance," which involves not only occupational information but also a discussion of values and attitudes.

The purpose is to provide the client with information about the kinds of programs available to him or her, how the particular program is related to the projections of the labor market in the free community, and how present available opportunities would tie into further developmental activities following institutional release. Counseling sessions are usually characterized by a strong reality orientation, coupled with some exhortation to the individual to accept and adapt to middle class mores and ascribe to the virtue of the work ethic. Graduate students are often used in career guidance programs in the fields of vocational rehabilitation, guidance and counseling, social work, and related disciplines. They are especially helpful with young adults, who find it easier to identify with them than with the older staff.

Along with providing information about opportunities, procedures include an analysis of the individual's strengths and weaknesses in terms of aptitudes, interests, and capabilities. The inmate is allowed time to realistically assess his or her potential for completing the course, and on a longer range basis to decide of he or she would be interested in working in the field if the course requirements are satisfactorily completed. Little emphasis is placed on emotional aspects of the choices being made. Career counseling is designed for people who are capable of functioning adequately and are essentially free from serious emotional maladjustment.

Vocational rehabilitation programs are emerging more frequently in institution and in probationary and parole operations. Part of the trend seems to be based on the concept that behavior and personality disorders represent disabilities of a severity equal to a deformed limb or some other physical incapacitation. State departments of vocational rehabilitation have become actively involved in correctional settings and offer their support and services when emotional as well as physical disabilities are involved in the offender's inability to function independently in the job market.

Career counseling also is a part of both probation and parole supervision, as those procedures are normally carried out. The conditions of release under supervision almost inevitably include some requirement to maintain gainful employment, or in the case of more youthful offenders, to be actively involved in school or training. If individuals are to adjust in the community, they often need considerable assistance in reorganizing their lives, particularly in fulfilling work obligations. Again, the counseling is based on very practical aspects of the individual's adjustment--the availability of financial support for vocational training, opportunities for training or education, and available job opportunities. Also of prime importance are those job opportunities in many states that are closed to ex-offenders. Many correctional workers and inmates are unaware of these restrictions. They must be considered in reality-based counseling.

Another trend within the correctional picture involving fairly directive counseling is the self-help group efforts. Offenders are trained as paraprofessionals and devote their energies to assisting their peers with making use of both the support bureauocracy and employment and training resources available to them.

General Adjustments

Somewhere between advice-giving and in-depth psychotherapy lie many counseling activities which are not concerned with basic psychodynamic emotional adjustment yet aim at assisting individuals to function more productively in society. A wide array of techniques are aimed at improved social adjustment and self enhancement.

Within this framework are such approaches as the TC and GGI, communication skills groups, Alcoholics Anonymous, drug information groups, and self-help groups. The goals of many of these groups are to provide information and promote interaction leading to more effective social adjustment. The efforts of the counselor are directed toward creating an environment wherein this effect may be optimally realized. The groups are usually democratically organized, with maximum inmate input, and relatively free from autocratic staff participation.

One promising approach is Group Leadership Training, briefly discussed in Chapter II. This procedure opens the door for future inmate-led groups with self-determined goals and objectives. It is recognized from the start that all the solutions presented are not necessarily related to the needs of all individuals participating; rather, individual participants make use of those aspects of the program seen as most beneficial to themselves. Although such an approach is not entirely successful for many people going through the correctional process, such programs have served as a turning point in the lives of some individuals, leading to social adjustment and other achievements.

Even when dealing with individuals with fairly severe emotional problems, a general adjustment approach can often prove beneficial. 'Recovery, Inc.," for example, founded by Dr. Abraham Low was based upon very practical guides for living to be taught to and practiced by former mental patients. Techniques employed parallel the Schmidhofer technique (1973) in some respects. This latter approach teaches specific skills to large groups of individuals. Students do not discuss their emotional difficulties but share how they have made use of the prescribed techniques to overcome some problem. Dr. Schmidhofer used this procedure in several correctional settings with mixed results. For many, a generalized program missed the mark; for a selected few, considerable gains could be observed.

Many of the self-help group efforts tend to be planned approaches toward social adjustment. However, they often develop a psychotherapeutic orientation and deal with emotions as well. Programs such as Synanon and Peer Counseling use a very structured approach incorporating therapeutic techniques like TA and Gestalt.

One argument against many general adjustment approaches within an institutional setting is that it provides skills necessary for institutional adjustment but not for living in a free society. This problem can be resolved only by providing a more normalized institutional environment which may involve vast systems change. Much systems change has come about as the direct result of new needs for staff and residents created by the general adjustment approach. The Federal Bureau of Prisons has recently initiated a management restructuring program aimed at normalizing the correctional setting. This permits the general adjustment counseling groups to be more relevant to free society functioning.

The unit management system allows for more effective TC's, GGI's, and other adjustment programs because it not only focuses on normalization, but also, by decentralization of institution staff into units, it places staff with decision-making authority in close proximity to the offenders. This encourages increased staff-inmate interaction and the restructuring of inmate cliques into adjustment-oriented groups.

Emotional Reorientation

While most counseling efforts avoid committing themselves to psychodynamic objectives, many group leaders still strive to achieve some measure of reorganization in the personalities of the participants.

One aspect of emotional reorientation concerns the development of a more flexible adaptive approach to life. A close examination of the life forces operating in the individual at the time of his or her becoming involved in illegal, antisocial acts reveals that the identified behavior, from the point of view of the participant, represented almost the only possible solution to a complex dilemma. Only after exhaustive, and often exhausting, exploration of motivations and emotional blockages can the individual come to understand that there were, and would be available in future situations, a number of alternatives. The statement is often heard that, "If I had only stopped to think about it, I would have never done it." Indeed, this may very well be true. It is not unusual for individuals to allow pressures to accumulate until they are unable to recognize some of the motivations forcing them toward certain types of actions. They then react impulsively without attempting to make a clear analysis of the situation. Thus, a variety of techniques in the therapeutic approach assists individuals to understand their own dynamic processes and helps them to analyze why they are behaving as they do. They are also encouraged to explore the extent to which they can exercise control over their own behavior, and integrate their cognitive and emotional lives.

For example, in Transactional Analysis, understanding the different ego states and how a person shifts from one to another provide the framework for developing understanding of the motivations for one's own behavior and how certain types of reactions are triggered. The "60-Second Countdown" technique provides for short-term analysis of social interaction, quickly shifting the individual into the analytic mode, allowing for a more reasoned response.

Similarly, the "here and now" group feedback process, centering on emotions expressed, can "hold up the mirror" to an individual so that he can see himself as others see him. Role-playing behavior, modeling, and identification are all processes that are used in most therapy sessions and work toward an improved degree of emotional reorientation.

While behavior modification techniques appear to be more closely related to the "general adjustment" approach to counseling, the fact of the matter is that they are often in the emotional reorientation framework. Counseling efforts growing out of the older psychoanalytic approach and Rogerian type counseling emphasize that one must have "understanding" and "insight" of underlying emotional motivations before behavior will change. Supporters of behavior modification, on the other hand, contend that it is considerably more efficient to approach the problem from the other side--namely, change the behavior and the associated emotions will subsequently change. Thus, as the individual becomes free from anxiety and tension through systematic desensitization, for example, he enjoys greater success in tackling problems and, as a result, moves on to a more success-oriented emotional outlook. Assertive training would be seen as an even better example of the alliance between behavior modification and emotional reorientation. Here, through changing a behavior pattern, the individual learns how to function more adequately. In the process, of course, s/he also discovers why s/he has been having problems in this area in the past. This latter insight is of less consequence than the very positive feelings s/he has about him or herself as s/he moves toward more adequate functioning and finds others reacting toward him/her in more satisfying ways.

The goal of emotional reorientation is often quite difficult to achieve in the correctional setting. The combined factors of a coercive atmosphere, conflicting treatment mandates, and the "inmate code" act against the success of traditional modes of psychotherapy. One solution is to request professional persons outside the correctional system to administer these services. This is an expensive procedure, and care in selection should be made both in employing consultants and in choosing resident participants. Very often therapy programs rich in community consulting staff become attractive to inmates who, neither motivated to seek out psychotherapy nor in need of an intensive emotional growth experience, seek out those situations where their privileges can be extended and their release more rapidly effected.

One example of this occured at the Milan FCI in the early 1970's, where a treatment community of "disturbed" offenders was established. Preferential housing was furnished, the staff was buttressed with a wealth of community professional consultants, and most of the institution's mental health professionals were involved with this unit. This island of treatment and privileges within a then custodially-oriented correctional setting created discord among inmates and staff alike. The inmate population in the unit, consisting of the most dominant-athletic residents at the time, was dissolved, and seemingly, those inmates who were the most vocal and perisitent gained admission to the unit. A mixture of these residents with the "disturbed" finally culminated in a privilege unit that was operating for reasons far different from those for which it was designed.

Care must always be taken to set policies and programs in such a way that treatment objectives do not interfere with basic overall procedures. If there is conflict, the result may create more problems for those involved than can be solved through the treatment process. Consultants, staff professionals, and students can effectively design and operate therapy programs, especially when the entire institution can benefit equally from this expertise.

Judge David L. Bazelon, a Federal Judge from the Washington, D. C. District, has argued that psychologists' treatment programs have served mainly as a side show that distracts from the main ring where the real efforts need to be placed--societal reorganization. He maintains that psychologists have served themselves well, but not the offenders they are asked to help (Brodsky, 1973). In talking to psychologists he states: ". . . you may find that you can have a significant impact on the problem of violent crime by taking bitter and violent offenders and reshaping them so that they learn to live with the devastating and ugly conditions of life that none of us could tolerate. . . . But whether you want to serve as high-priced janitors who sweep up society's debris so that our problems will be pushed out of sight but in no sense resolved, is a question that you yourselves must answer after you have squarely faced it."

Differing Clients

While a great amount of energy is devoted to diagnostic procedures in an attempt to deal with each person as an individual with unique problems, the fact of the matter is that having examined these unique, individualized problems, the resulting prescription is often remarkably similar across clients - namely, group counseling, or whatever. This is not to imply that [illegible] special counseling program should be designed for each individual and his special problem, for this would be an unfeasible approach, but rather that clients may be grouped in terms of their major presenting problem, and perhaps, unique approaches developed to deal with those problems.

An approach of this latter nature is seen to be emerging already. Many states and the federal government have initiated "special treatment" programs for those having a history of narcotic addiction. Jurisdictions have developed specialized programs for people with problems in this area within the existing institutional settings. Similarly, those with problems in the excessive use of alcohol separate themselves out for special attention. For many years Alcoholics Anonymous was about the only treatment modality available other than Antibuse, in either the mental hospital or prison setting. Recently specialized counseling programs have been initiated for this group. As has been previously indicated, youthful offenders are often provided with a wider range of treatment opportunities.

Summary

In career guidance programs, the general focus is on imparting factual information about the kinds of programs being offered, employment possibilities, and the value of education. General adjustment programs are aimed at teaching skills necessary for living in a free society, and attempts are being made to make institutions resemble more closely the normal societal milieu. More difficult to implement than the foregoing are programs aimed at emotional or personality re-orientation, although many programs will include some efforts in this area. Caution must always be taken in designing any program for a correctional setting that treatment objectives are consonant with the basic overall objectives of the institution.

Counseling takes place in a wide variety of situations, ranging from those that look very much like outpatient clinics to locked and barred cells in a maximum security institution. Physical surroundings are probably less important than many other aspects of the counseling process or program; ease of accessibility to sessions may play a fairly important role in the continuity of a group or program as will the content of the discussions. The following section traces an individual through the criminal justice process, highlighting briefly the kinds of counseling that he or she might encounter at the various stages.

Chapter IV

Different Settings

Probation[1]

Because individuals on probation experience considerable freedom of movement, they receive a high proportion of correctional counseling. Probationers are viewed as people in need of considerable guidance in terms of simple, factual information that enables them to work with welfare agencies, relate to the court system, deal with landlords, and secure and maintain employment. Probation officers frequently find themselves forced into the role of family counselor with both youthful offenders who reside at home and individuals who are married. Some probation supervisors believe that family therapy or counseling should be undertaken only by professionals in this field; however, most feel that the probation officer can contribute positively in all areas of life adjustment.

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[1] This refers to a sentence served under supervision in the community in lieu of incarceration.

Group counseling in recent years has come to assume a more significant role in supervision in probation. Especially with juveniles, the tendency to gather in clubs or gangs seems naturally to lead to counseling in groups. Even with adult probation, group counseling has been found to be very helpful. For one thing, almost all probation caseloads are larger than the supervisors feel are appropriate. Group counseling offers the only opportunity for many officers to maintain contact with those for whom they have responsibility.

For example, Faust (1965) reported on the use of non-group trained probation officers in handling group supervision. With a fairly sizeable sample (N=24) it was found that while there was no difference in the number of probationers committing new offenses, a much higher per-cent completed their probation with a rating of satisfactory adjustment than did a control group under normal supervision (43% vs. 30% for the comparison group). Of even greater importance is the fact that contact between officer and client was nearly doubled by this procedure. At about the same time Mandel (1965) reported on a different approach to the measurement of recidivism. He noted that those under group supervision (15-man group meetings for 90 minutes every two weeks) had a lower rate of revocation and a higher ratio of months without revocation to months at risks than did a control group. It was also found that the group approach was less costly than individual supervision.

In California, additional impetus was given such efforts by the "probation subsidy" program (Saleeby, 1971). This program was developed as an outgrowth of early community-based enthusiasm. A detailed review of the records of individuals sent to state level correctional facilities revealed that from one-quarter to one-third of those being admitted could have been handled safely under probationary supervision had local jurisdictions been able to provide suitable programs (Smith, 1965; Roberts & Sekel, 1965). Plans then evolved to reimburse counties for each individual they did not send to a state facility based on past trends. The money, however, could not be used to support the existing level of services but had to be spent on carefully planned, improved services. Of the "improved services," many involved counseling and considerable group interaction of one kind or another.

Jail

Suppose that the individual is not given probation but rather is sentenced to a local jail? What are his chances of getting some help through counseling? The answer is, "rather slim." In a few of the larger jail programs across the country, some counseling is available and programs have been initiated (Fenton, 1961). However, they consistently lack continuity of effort, and very little counseling actually takes place in the jail setting. This phenomenon is particularly devastating when one realizes that the vast majority of people who are locked away from society are incarcerated at the local level.

Expanding the concept of local incarceration to include juvenile halls, the picture brightens somewhat, for communities are generally concerned about the juvenile offender and quite often attempt to provide some sort of counseling activity. Again, however, continuity of application is probably not great.

Recently the Federal Bureau of Prisons initiated a massive building program for Metropolitan Community Centers to house federal offenders in humane jail settings. These centers opened in 1974 and 1975 in San Diego, Chicago, and New York City. They provide a modern high-rise facility in the center of these metropolitan areas with staffing patterns conducive to counseling. Other similar facilities are being planned and should help greatly to solve the problems of overcrowded jails and the lack of humane-rehabilitative programs within traditional jail settings.

Prison

It is within major correctional institutions that the greatest application of counseling is found; the prison is the setting for the most activity. Counseling efforts range from individual career guidance and emotional counseling, to small group counseling and family therapy, to large group interaction and therapeutic community programs. However, the bulk of counseling in the prison setting has been in terms of small group interaction of one sort or another. The group counseling model developed by Norman Fenton (1950) rapidly spread throughout the nation. Small groups with a strong Transactional Analytic orientation are also swelling as the number of inmates involved in them increases. Carkhuff's helping techniques (Carkhuff, 1968) have added still another dimension, and are being applied with both individuals and groups.

Guided group interaction programs and "therapeutic communities" now dot the correctional landscape, and model institutional designs are sometimes planned around the therapeutic community concept (Bradley, 1969; Saleeby, 1970).

The In-Between Stage--Halfway Houses

With the current emphasis upon community-based corrections, a variety of way-stations have been created--community correctional centers, group homes, halfway houses, work furlough units, and community program centers. In these settings, group counseling and therapeutic communities not only thrive but are probably necessary. The stress of being neither an inmate nor a parolee, but suffering the disadvantages of each status, leads to a variety of problems that can be ameliorated by some sort of group interaction. In addition to the confusion with regard to status, there are stresses associated with the transitional process from being closely controlled to being moderately responsible for a large portion of one's life. Again, insights developed in the security of the institutional setting can be tested out in the arena of life in a semi-protected community.

Any group of people attempting to conduct their lives in the close juxtaposition of a small living unit will require some mechanism for conflict resolution. Thus, we see that halfway houses and correctional centers tend to incorporate not only group counseling and therapeutic community concepts but also self-help efforts that are directed toward personal skill development. Some self-help programs go well beyond the use of the group as an adjunct to regular programs and make it a central focus of their intervention strategies--Synanon might be an example of this.

Parole[2]

The major portion of the parole agent's time is spent in individual counseling: some of it is quite directive, but a great deal of it is devoted to sympathetic attempts to help the individual understand the adjustment process through which he is traveling.

In recent years group counseling has emerged in parole, much as it has in probation, to help the agent increase communication with his clients, as well as to offer the opportunity for improving interpersonal skills.

Group counseling in the parole setting provides continuity from the institutional system to counseling in the freer society of the community. In the institutional setting the individual can only talk about what he might do in a given situation; counseling under parole supervision deals with what he did in reaction to certain stressful situations or what he is doing to respond to the stresses he feels in confronting new problems.

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[2] This term refers to a period of supervision following incarceration.

Summary

Counselors in corrections may find themselves working in a variety of settings ranging from visits to former inmates in their homes to working within the prison atmosphere. Tasks, objectives, and techniques will differ, and the counselor may be required to assume a number of roles including personal family counselor and/or designer of therapeutic community programs. Group counseling is developing rapidly as an efficient and effective way of providing counseling services in most correctional settings.

The tax structure in government aptly illustrates the complexity of its organization. Each level demands some sort of rebate, subsidy, or revenue-sharing because of its particular needs. So, too, in the criminal justice system, and particularly in the correctional field. As noted previously, most of the offenders who are incarcerated are held in local jurisdictions where revenues are limited and demands are great. Where facilities are most required, generally speaking, incarcerational accomodations are the least adequate. Deficiencies in money for building are accompanied by a scarcity of funds for rehabilitative programs. In this chapter several factors that have influenced the direction of counseling efforts at various governmental levels will be briefly explored.

Chapter V

The Differing Levels

Local Efforts

The general inadequacies of counseling activities in jail settings, functions usually controlled by local jurisdictions, have been noted. Slightly more activity can be observed in juvenile halls, and probation often makes proportionately greater use of counseling of various sorts—starting, of course, with direct advice-giving.

Another area where counseling efforts are rapidly expanding is in delinquency prevention programs. How to prevent crime has been a topic of extensive discussion and some action since the turn of the century. The value of such efforts is always open to question because the problem is so difficult to evaluate. Caustic critics contend that all such efforts must have been totally ineffectual considering the present level of crime. Supporters of delinquency prevention efforts think that crime would be even greater without these efforts. It seems likely that programs aimed at preventing delinquency do serve a useful purpose and are certainly necessary to an enlightened society that wants to do something to stem the tide of criminal activity. The work of LaMar Empy (1967) serves as an outstanding example of the application of group procedures in this area and will be discussed in greater detail as some of the new, emerging techniques and programs are examined.

State Programs

At the state level much counseling activity takes place. Group counseling is by far the most common approach. When counseling was in its heyday in California, one institution (California Correctional Institute in Tehachapi), with the cooperation of the inmate population, developed a 100% group counseling participation program in lieu of constructing additional fences, gun towers and taking other costly security measures.

Generally speaking, more traditional counseling approaches have been used with the more stabilized inmates. It is with the youthful offender that the innovative practices are being tested--such approaches as matching clients with counselors, small group homes, and stratified living units.

The Federal System

The correctional apparatus of the federal system parallels that of the states in that the federal system operates institutional and parole services as well as community program centers (halfway houses) and jail facilities.

In the past, the federal system took a "middle of the road" stance, tending, for the most part, to provide rather well-established treatment opportunities along orthodox lines--that is, psychotherapy and specialized counseling were available to a small number of inmates.

More recently, with the initiation of the Omnibus Crime Bill of 1968, the federal system has been designated as a model for sound correctional practices. The bill encouraged the already growing awareness of a need for change, with the result that at the present time the federal system probably does play a leadership role in many areas, especially counseling. In fact, many innovative programs have had their beginnings in federal facilities. Presently experimentation is occurring not only with traditional group counseling, but also with peer counseling, token economies, programs relating typology to counseling[1], biofeedback techniques, and innovative drug abuse programs.

[1] The Quay (1964) typology has been widely used in federal youth and juvenile facilities, and has met with relative success in relating typology to program efforts.

Summary

Unfortunately, local jail settings, where most offenders are incarcerated, have the least adequate provisions for rehabilitative efforts. Increasing emphasis, however, is being given to preventive programs at the local level. States are attempting to develop counseling programs, especially in group format, and especially with youthful offenders. Recent legislation has encouraged federal institutions to provide leadership in counseling programs and to experiment with innovative approaches that may become models around which other institutions can design their own efforts.

Some of the approaches outlined in this chapter have been alluded to earlier. In general, most of the techniques that will be discussed have not yet spread very widely and can be seen in only one or two settings; a few have started to permeate the field. The tradition of treatment has generally been to use techniques that were initially employed in mental health settings or educational facilities. The viability of this procedure has sometimes been questionable, but, by and large, most such techniques have been fairly well adopted and have become rather standardized practice. However, several new approaches have been conceived and developed within the correctional framework.

Chapter VI

New Approaches

Group Homes

Institutionalization of the juvenile delinquent, of the pre-delinquent, and of the in-need-of-care has always been viewed as negative. Foster homes are considered preferable, and efforts have been made to provide foster home care for many of these young people. Needless to say, the sheer volume precludes finding enough homes; and even when homes are found, the social climate may not be beneficial for the client.

As noted previously, juveniles naturally seem to flock together and form into clubs, organizations, or gangs. It seems entirely suitable that some effort be made to provide living arrangements that will capatalize on this tendency. At the same time, a small group of parent surrogates can be trained for the more economical placement of larger numbers of young delinquents and pre-delinquents. Within this framework, considerable work has been done to match the worker and nature of the setting with groups of individuals with similar personality or adjustment problems. Preliminary evidence suggests that this may be an efficient and effective approach. However, in no way is it a panacea.

Matching Client and Counselor

One of the best illustrations of attempts to match client and counselor is the application of theoretical typology, which involves levels of interpersonal maturity (I-level). Developed in a naval disciplinary barracks (Sullivan, Grant and Grant, 1957), this theory proposes that youthful offenders can be classified in terms of their view of significant others in their immediate social/psychological environment--particularly authority figures. Classification levels range from I-1 to I-7, from the least mature to the most mature. Examination of the clientele in correctional settings suggests that most offenders can be classified between I-2 and I-4 or I-5.

The less mature tend to view authority figures as givers or withholders of the good things in life and often try to obtain what they want through a straight demand system. As their interpersonal maturity increases, they begin to see that good behavior plays a part in the quality of others' response to them. Some will then embark upon a pattern of super-conformity, becoming a "goody-goody," continually seeking love and praise from parental figures and others in authority. Others at this level learn the motivations behind other people's actions, learn how to turn this knowledge to advantage by shaping these motivations for their own ends. The ultimate of this approach is the very smooth "con-man" manipulator.

As personal maturity increases, standards of conduct are internalized in the individual and he comes to judge himself against these standards, with resulting anxiety and tension when he falls short of his own goals and expectations. In the most mature individuals, altruistic motivations become a part of the total personality structure.

In what probably represents one of the better studies in interactional psychotherapy, the Camp Elliot (Grant and Grant, 1971) study matched groups of individuals classified in terms of this theory with different kinds of group leaders. The findings suggest that those with lower levels of maturity respond less well to counseling and/or therapeutic approaches than do those at more mature levels of functioning. On the other hand, the group made up of people with lower levels of maturity tended to respond quite well to group leaders who might be characterized as DI's (Marine drill instructors)--highly authoritarian types. The group made up of I-4's and I-5's did not respond as positively to the authoritarian approach, nor were they as negatively affected as the lower group by counseling kinds of interventions.

Starting from a rather simple, skeletal system of typologies, the classification scheme now has become far more elaborate and includes more subtle classifications for various subtypes. A wide variety of intervention strategies have also been identified for each of the different levels and sub-types. Extensive applications of the theory came with the Community Treatment Project (Warren, 1965) which developed specialized group homes, an approach mentioned earlier.

A number of typology systems has been developed, some of which are used for diagnostic purposes only and others for classification for treatment. The Quay-Peterson (1958) represents one of the latter efforts. That particular classification system as modified by Quay and Parsons (1971) played an integral role in the special treatment program developed for Morgantown (also used now in Oxford, Wisconsin, FCI) that combined token economy with counseling. It represents a systematic development from fairly classical psychiatric diagnostic categories.

Use of Testing in Counseling

After almost any kind of typology is developed, the next step is to test the efficiency of the classification through some sort of evaluative approach. In the case of the Quay-Peterson, the test came first and the program uses of the diagnostic categories came later. In the I-level approach, initial classification was dependent upon a long, involved, and quite complicated individual diagnostic interview. Subsequently, more objective, easily administered psychometric devices were developed that provide a fairly reliable indication of the level of interpersonal maturity.

Other settings and jurisdictions have attempted to match client and counselor through some sort of testing program, but no major systematic approach has evolved. For example, the Federal Prison System uses the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory throughout the system, but with only limited application. One exception is the work done by Magargee and his associates at The Florida State University in cooperation with the Tallahassee Federal Institution. This effort has produced a series of FCI Reports leading to the development of novel concepts such as "Over-controlled hostility," and has the aim of classifying inmates according to treatment goals.[1]

While diagnostic testing and psychological evaluations have always been aimed at helping the counselor better understand the client, seldom has such knowledge been used in any kind of a systematic or structured manner. Within the last few years, however, growing use has been made of the FIRO-8 (Schultz, 1967)--Fundamental Interpersonal Relationship Orientation-Behavior. This quick paper and pencil test assesses in several areas the kind of responses an individual would like to receive from his or her participation in interpersonal interactions. At the same time, it reveals the willingness of the individual to *give* to such interactions. In an ideal situation, for example, a counselor who has strong nurturing needs can be paired up with a client who strongly needs to receive nurturance in his interpersonal interactions. In the usual case, the counselor may not feel totally comfortable in providing assistance to meet the particular needs of the client, but can at least identify what kind of response might prove helpful and attempt to work within that framework.

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[1] Copies of these FCI Reports may be obtained by requests through the Tallahassee, FCI, Psychological Services Department.

Testing has always been prevalent throughout the justice system. Unfortunately, however, much of this testing has been done by academic researchers, interested mainly in studying the inhabitants of a microcosm of society. In effect, prisons and their inmates have become guinea pigs. Thus, the caged have become test-weary, and meaningful functional research has become more difficult to carry out. The Federal Bureay of Prisons is beginning to establish research positions within institutions, and this should help solve the problem. The new Federal Facility at Butner, North Carolina, will be designed to include a volunteer research center that will provide more information on how to treat chronic offenders. With highly trained professionals and paraprofessional staff and executive leadership by educationally - and psychologically-oriented individuals a more enlightened approach to the use of testing in counseling and classification should be developed that can serve as a national model for other facilities.

Gimmicks and Gadgetry

Use of the tape recorder has long been an invaluable aid in training counselors and has also been used to help a group get a better understanding of their own patterns of interaction. Of even greater impact is the use of video tape feedback where the individual can actually see how he is coming across to others.

Attempts have been made to utilize biofeedback techniques, especially galvanic skin responses, to help both counselor and counselee more clearly determine when areas of high emotional content are being tapped. This technique is used in Lompoc, California, FCI and is being developed at Milan FCI as part of a drug abuse program. It is, however, in the very early experimental stages.

Peer Counseling

An approach that has been used irregularly since the late 1940's is the use of offenders to carry on counseling activities. Studies have clearly demonstrated that prisoners can be trained to handle groups as effectively as most people. Probably the most well-known and well-developed program in peer counseling is that operating out of two federal institutions and one prison in California. This program has a structured system for group training and a graduated approach to developing group counselors or leaders. Preliminary phases involve heavy doses of didactic lectures in Transactional Analysis supplemented by a practicum. After rather extensive training, the client is then ready to function as an assistant instructor or as a co-leader in a small group counseling. Advanced stages of the program involve learning the elements of group interaction, leadership dynamics, the organization of treatment efforts, and Carkhuff's (1968) helping techniques. Preliminary evaluations have been consistently positive. One particular result is that prisoners who are involved as counseling leaders seldom become involved in disciplinary difficulty. Followup studies of former prisoner/counselors indicate a carry-over of improvement from the prison to society-at-large.

Peer counseling as a form of group counseling is a fairly economical procedure. Also, material aid is offered to those who undergo the training, so the program functions as a whole life style reorientation system. In view of the benefits, minimal cost, and the self-help orientation, it seems likely that this is an approach that we will soon see spreading across the nation.

The Offender as Consultant/Counselor

The activity about to be described is not counseling in the usual sense, but is being so considered because the interactions and goals parallel those of counseling.

College programs in sociology and criminology that are interested in a realistic understanding of justice and correctional problems frequently invite former prisoners to talk to students and provide a view of correctional institutions from a slightly different perspective. This practice has grown to the point where individuals particularly skilled in talking to groups are employed as consultants to educational institutions or programs and have, on occasion, become staff instructors. In addition, many such individuals are employed by special interest reform groups to assist with lobbying in legislatures. As in the case of peer counseling, the participant tends to realign his values as he works more closely with the "establishment."

Along similar lines is the specialized training of clients to function as counselors in specialized areas. Ex-narcotic offenders, for example, are viewed as particularly gifted in providing counseling to pre-delinquents to help prevent the abuse of drugs, including alcohol.

While a number of programs have been instituted along this line, SPAN is the one with which the authors are most familar. Nissen (1970) set up a program wherein potential counselors are selected from an inmate population during the later phases of their incarceration. They start college work and training in the correctional institution. Upon release they take an intensive training program for paraprofessionals on a regular college campus. While this program has not been without trials, would-be counselors who have completed training have been placed in school districts to assist in drug abuse prevention programs.

Summary

Several new approaches for correctional counseling were discussed in this chapter, including group homes, matching client and counselor, the use of testing and audio-visual technology, peer counseling, and training the offender for consulting or counseling. Although more evaluative studies are needed for each of these approaches, preliminary studies indicate they are having at least some success.

Although counseling is not always effective in reducing parole violations or recidivism, it is usually effective in reducing misbehavior within the institutions. Counseling juveniles seems to yield better results than counseling adults.

Chapter VII

Studies of Effectiveness

Counseling has not been as carefully evaluated as many other correctional practices. This observation is the keynote of the summary of research on group methods in Lipton, Martinson, and Wilkes (1975):

> Considering the amount of support group treatment methods have received, it is surprising that there are so few reliable and valid findings concerning their effectiveness. In addition, where favorable results are found, reductions in recidivism were relatively small. (p. 278)

A survey of the research conducted by these authors indicates that, while counseling has not made any major impact in reducing recidivism, it is effective in ameliorating institutional difficulties. A number of studies are reviewed that suggest that matching clients with counseling approaches can be a significant factor in the success of the program. In reviewing the significant studies in the field, emphasis will be on those studies illustrating positive application.

Kassebaum, Ward and Wilner

This unique study is probably one of the best controlled studies to test the effectiveness of various counseling approaches (1971). The setting for the study was California Men's Colony at San Luis Obispo, a then new medium security institution in the California Department of Corrections. The institution is architecturally divided into four quads with central services, a near ideal design for setting up differing kinds of programs.

In the four quads the following types of counseling were established:

1. Voluntary group counseling. (As a natural result there was also created a sub-group of voluntary non-participation.)

2. Mandatory intensive counseling by specially trained counselors.

3. Large-group community living. This included small-group counseling along with frequent large-group meetings.

4. Regular institutional program - no group counseling available.

Nearly a thousand inmates, young adult male offenders - 18 years of age or older - with the bulk of the group falling into the age range of 20 to 27 were the subjects. Individuals participated in the treatment program from six months to two years and were followed up after institutional release for a period of 36 months.

From official publications, and with the help of institutional personnel, an attempt was made to identify the objectives of the program. The following two major points evolved:

1. Group counseling should reduce involvement in institutional disciplinary infractions.

2. Counseling should facilitate adjustment following release, leading to an improved parole outcome.

Table I

Studies of Psychiatric Evaluations of Offenders

Source	Population	Diagnosis	Percent
Glueck (1918)	608 Sing Sing Prisoners	Psychotic or mentally deteriorated	12.0
		Normal	41.0
		Mentally retarded	28.1
Overholser (1935)	5,000 felons under Briggs Law in Mass.	Abnormal	15.0
		Normal	85.0
Bromberg and Thompson (1937)	9,958 offenders before Court of General Sessions, New York City	Psychotic	1.5
		Psychoneurotic	6.9
		Psychopathic personalities	6.9
		Feebleminded	2.4
		Normal or mild personality defects	82.3
Schilder (1940)	Convicted felons, Court of General Sessions of New York City	Psychotic	1.6
		Neurotic	4.2
		Psychopathic personalities	7.3
		Feebleminded	3.1
		Normal	83.8

Source	Population	Diagnosis	Percent
Banay (1941)	Sing Sing prisoners	Psychotic	1.0
		Emotionally immature	20.0
		Psychopathic	17.0
		Normal	62.0
Poindexter (1955)	100 problem inmates	Mentally ill	20.0
		Normal	80.0
Schlessinger and Blau (1957)	500 typical prisoners	Character and behavior disorders	85.0
		Normal	15.0
Shands (1958)	1,720 North Carolina felon admissions to Central Prison	Psychotic	3.5
		Personality disorder	55.8
		Psychoneurotic	3.9
		Sociopathic personality	7.0
		Other	5.3
		No psychiatric disorder	4.7
		Transient personality disorder	19.8
Brodsky (1970)	32,511 military prisoners	Character and behavior disorders	77.1
		No psychiatric disease	21.3
		Miscellaneous disorders	1.6

With Group 4 as a control group, no differences were observed between any of the treatment groups and the control group in the proportions of individuals who were able to remain discipline-free during their institutional stay. (About half of each group managed this level of adjustment.) There were no significant differences among the groups in regard to the types of rule infractions that were observed.

With regard to recidivism, there were no significant differences between the groups after 36 months. Significantly, there was no difference in the outcome for those who were counseled by the regular lay staff with normal departmental group counseling instructions and those who were counseled by highly specialized counselors.

The Highfields Program

The Highfields Program is one of the earliest and most successful efforts at milieu therapy. It involved large group interaction combined with small guided group programs that dealt with informal inmate-staff interaction. Freeman and Weeks (1956) report on 237 male offenders in the 16-18 age group who went through the program for six months. They found that those going through the Highfields Program were significantly more successful at staying out of trouble than those released from a regular institution (63% versus 43%). Inasmuch as the two programs cost about the same to operate, it was felt that not only was the project effective in reducing recidivism, but it also had a favorable cost/benefit ratio.

Joplin (1968, 1971) reports additional information about this program as well as others involving group interaction.

Lamar Empey

Lamar Empey has given considerable impetus to the community-based correctional effort. He has worked mostly in the area of juvenile delinquency prevention, setting up programs for juveniles and youthful offenders that aim to prevent the need for incarceration. His first project, called the Provo experiment, involved daily group sessions in a milieu therapy atmosphere. The program involved 200 juvenile offenders between the ages of 15 and 17 who underwent treatment for approximately seven months. After six months, a comparison was made between those assigned to the experimental program and those assigned to regular probation; there was little reported difference in outcome. However, a much higher percent of those completing the experimental program were arrest-free during the followup period than of those completing regular probation. Those going through either experimental program or regular probation did significantly better than those who had been assigned to reformatory (Empey, 1966).

In a later program in California, a community-based semi-institutional setting again used milieu therapy and guided group interaction. This program was compared with a small institution that placed emphasis on skill development and maturation. A one-year followup study was conducted, involving 84 boys, ages 16 to 18. Half of those completing the experimental program were involved in further offenses compared with 75% of those from the institution.

The Youth Center Research Project

The Youth Center Research Project was carried out in the Stockton complex of the California Youth Authority. This large-scale project followed one of the most rigorous designs for studying the effectiveness of different kinds of treatment interventions. The methods studied were Transactional Analysis and behavior modification.

The major hypotheses of the project were that Transactional Analysis would be more effective with higher maturity youthful male offenders, while behavior modification would be more effective with less verbal, lower maturity subjects; and both treatment intervention strategies would be more effective than a regular institutional program involving group and individual counseling. Two small institutions of comparable size and staffing were each given an individual mission. One was 100% oriented toward Transactional Analysis while the other was totally committed to behavior modification, involving a token economy. The staff members of the two institutions received extensive and intensive training in the treatment modality with which they were to become involved. Eleven hundred thirty offenders between the ages of 16 and 20 were randomly assigned to the two facilities, 160 had completed the program at one institution and 144 had completed at the time of the preliminary followup.

Results of the program include the following:

(1) Although initially the number of incidents and misconduct reports rose markedly, during the later stages of the experiment the number of incidents and the amount of time spent in detention was reduced by more than 60% in both units.

(2) In both programs, the more mature residents responded more favorably, a finding that probably should have been expected.

(3) In terms of psychological outlook, Transactional Analysis participants changed more than those in behavior modification in the following ways:

A. Reduced feelings of anxiety and depression

B. More positive self-concept

C. More optimistic about the future

D. More determination and confidence in their ability

(4) Participants in the Transactional Analysis program were more positive in their evaluation of the school's activities and more accepting in their attitude toward staff. Behavior ratings, however, showed that those undergoing behavior modification improved slightly more than those who had participated in the TA program.

(5) The reports on the first 427 participants who had been on the streets for a period of 12 months after participating in the project suggested no difference between the two treatment approaches in terms of failures on parole (31% for one group versus 32% for the other). However, both violation rates were significantly lower than the 43% rate of violations for those who had gone through the same institutions prior to the experimental program and considerably lower than the 46% rate of violations for a group of a comparable age released from the other Youth Authority institutions.

Thus, it would appear that either intervention strategy is equally successful and that given total institution commitment, counseling can be effective in reducing recidivism rates (Jesness, 1972).

Summary

As can be seen from this quick review, the findings do not provide strong support for claiming great gains in correctional counseling. On the other hand, there are indications that some kinds of treatment intervention do make a difference, and often a significant one. As we look at those areas where there is a finding of "no difference," such as the Kassebaum, Ward and Wilner study, we see a falling back into an older mold wherein all inmates, their needs, and motivations are viewed as identical. We all know that inmates are not all alike - they are not peas in a pod - yet time and time again we institute programs in a blanket fashion thinking that perhaps they will be successful in dealing with at least *some* clients. They seldom are.

It seems that the field should be reaching a state of development sophisticated enough to deal with this kind of problem more effectively. The Camp Elliot study (Grant and Grant, 1959) indicates that different kinds of people respond differently to different kinds of leadership. The PICO project (Adams, 1961) shows that the application of treatment intervention with those for whom it is appropriate may be more harmful than helpful. In that study, those classified as "amenable" *and who were given individual and group counseling* did considerably less well on parole than did those who received no counseling at all, whether they were classified as amenable or not amenable. More recently the Community Treatment Program (Warren, 1965) clearly delineates the interaction between different kinds of supervision and different kinds of client to show how this interaction is related to positive parole adjustment. Thus, as one looks to the future, it is hoped that more attention will be paid to characteristics of clients and the kinds of approaches or techniques that will be most likely to result in a beneficial outcome.

Although several waves of enthusiasm over group counseling and therapeutic communities have swept over the nation's prisons, there may be some institutions or newly initiated programs that have not yet tried these approaches. The following suggestions are set forth for the guidance of those who are planning counseling programs, with the hope that they will be of practical value.

Chapter VIII

Some Practical Guides Toward Application

Examine the Clientele

Too often in the correctional process we develop an ideal program and then look around to see if we can find inmates or probationers to fit into it. A better approach is to examine the needs of the individuals to be served by the program first, and then determine what kinds of programs might meet these needs. This can be done by the use of one of the established classification systems employing typologies, or by developing and initiating one's own battery of instruments to obtain a better knowledge of the clientele. Any typology used must be evaluated against the particular situation in which the counseling program is to be implemented. For example, the I-level approach might be best for one program, while some sort of behavioral indices might be more appropriate for another.

Some would say that categories are often more harmful than useful; that what is needed is a better understanding of the individual offenders and a program designed to meet these individual needs. Once someone has been tested, categorized, and labeled, further understanding of that person is often impaired, and the label becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy of that person's behavior patterns. Also, when one is labeled certain attributes become attached to that person that may not exist at all in reality. By avoiding the use of typologies, the negative offshoots of labeling could be minimized.

Outline Your Objectives

Counseling objectives can be outlined in a number of ways. Arnold (1974) discusses such items as "to prepare inmates for socially accepted lives in the community with sub-objectives being: (1) the creation of subcultures that will support conforming behavior and condemn illegal behavior, (2) development of peer pressure for conforming behavior, and (3) adoption of realistic and appropriate perceptions of values and expected behavior." As can be seen, such objectives, as stated, would be very difficult to measure. One would have to assume certain logical consequences deriving from attainment of these objectives, thus generating indirect hypotheses. For example, the primary objective of "socially acceptable lives in the community" might be translated to mean "arrest-free for a specified period." Certainly, this objective is easier to measure than one more broadly stated. However, it may be advantageous, sometimes, to set up objectives in terms of broadly stated goals.

One such objective might be the "enhancement of feelings of involvement on the part of the staff." Although it is broadly stated and subjective, this objective may not be unnecessarily difficult to measure. In surveying attitudes of California Correctional personnel, for example, Kassebaum, Ward and Wilner (1963) found that:

> Participation in counseling may alleviate feelings of being left out of the important work of the prison. The data indicate that those involved in the treatment program have an outlook more in line with the philosophy behind the program than do staff members who are not counselors.

Other possible objectives are:

1. Improving institutional climate. This objective has not been dealt with extensively in the literature of research; however, now that institution climate scales have been developed, it is possible to document changes in this area.

2. Lowering the rate of disciplinary difficulties. Simple bookkeeping procedures should enable one to evaluate whether this objective has been achieved. Research in this area has already shown positive results, and easy ways are available for assessing goal achievement (Griedland, 1960; Truax, 1966).

3. Reducing recidivism. Although this can be difficult to measure, it is an important criterion by which a correctional program should be evaluated. It is important, therefore, that this objective be stated clearly, and the methodology be developed to insure its accurate measurement.

4. Positive shifts in personality. Standardized personality tests could be used to measure the achievement of this objective.

Once measurable objectives have been established, the program has a basis for evaluation. Whether or not a program has been successful--and even its degree of success--can be determined by measuring the extent to which objectives have been met. Furthermore, establishing objectives and making them known to both counselors and clients can give direction and purpose to counseling programs, which, in itself, facilitates progress.

Survey Counseling Approaches

It is usually recognized that the counseling approach used in any program should be compatible with the needs, clientele, and objectives of that program. Other factors to be considered include the cost of implementing a particular approach, the resources available to the institution that are relevant to that approach, and the expertise and attitudes of the staff members who will be conducting the program.

Program Costs

The cost of a program is affected by the number of staff required (and their level of training), by special materials or resources that may be needed, and by the number of staff hours required for program implementation.

A program is usually bolstered by the use of outside consultants. If consultants are to be used, it would be wise to select a program for which expert assistance is available locally. This will eliminate the expense of having consultants come in from remote places.

The special materials that a program requires could range from books and other printed matter for distributing occupational information to specially designed buildings or building wings for Therapeutic Communities. Many counseling methods need little more than a room in which to meet; some, like biofeedback, require special equipment. The cost of buying, renting, or leasing needed materials and resources should be assessed.

The number of staff hours needed to implement a program refers to the ratio between staff hours spent and number of persons counseled. The impact that this has on a program is best illustrated by comparing group counseling with individual counseling. However, this is not the only factor. For any program to be effective, staff time will be spent on non-counseling functions--making special preparations, etc.— and this, too, should be assessed.

Available Resources

The cost incurred by having to obtain special materials or resources for a counseling program can be reduced if some of those resources are already available to the institution. All available resources should be considered, because even if they are not essential to program implementation, they may still be helpful in achieving program objectives.

Human resources should be considered as well as material ones. If, for example, occupational training is a component of your program, local tradesmen and/or businessmen could be invited in to demonstrate and teach their skills.

Expertise and Attitudes of Staff

The impact of staff expertise on program costs has already been touched on, but the assessment of this impact could be more complicated than was implied. This is because, while highly-trained professionals earn higher salaries than minimally trained or paraprofessional staff, they may also be more efficient. Some studies have shown that counseling by peers or paraprofessionals can be just as effective as counseling by an experienced professional--but only for certain types of counseling and only for certain objectives. In many other cases, the higher paid professional will be more efficient.

The attitudes of the staff are also important for program success. If an unpopular program is implemented, it may fail simply because of the lack of enthusiasm and commitment that are required for success.

Assessing Alternative Programs

In order to adequately assess the compatibility of a program to institutional needs and objectives and determine its probable cost and effectiveness, more than a review of the literature is needed. The best sources of information are other institutions that have a program like or similar to the one you are considering. Information from these sources can be obtained via letters, telephone conversations, or site visits, depending on budget allowances.

Staff Selection

It is important that any additional staff that may be needed, especially those who will be program leaders, be carefully selected. According to Arnold (1974), two characteristics are especially important: skill in communication techniques and a personal warmth with good ego strength.

Selection can be effectively carried out if three fairly simple criteria are applied: (1) only highly motivated and interested candidates should be considered, (2) they should be humanistically oriented, and (3) they must be flexible enough to benefit from a training program which may lead them to alter preconceived views.

Staff Training

Orientation sessions for the staff should begin well in advance of program implementation. Such efforts should start with top staff, who can later assist with the orientation for the rest of the staff.

It is advisable to design specific training modules with clearly defined objectives. The modules provide an opportunity for insuring that the trainees know how far they have progressed, while the objectives allow them to know when they have arrived at the desired level of competency. Training objectives should be clearly stated. It should be made abundantly clear to participants that they are not expected to perform some task for which they are unprepared, and that they will be placed in a given activity only when they are fully trained for that activity. If trainees know exactly what is expected of them, their anxieties can be allayed to a great extent.

Organizational Structure

If a program is to be successful, the supervisor should report directly to the highest administrator in the system in which it is located. Without this level of authority, programs become subordinate to the ongoing traditional activities and are seldom effective. Although several questions of priority must be determined early, the crucial question is whether counseling or other types of training or education will take precedence.

The setting for treatment is also highly important. Ideally, the total institution should be dedicated to the program to be initiated. Chamlee (1967) defines very clearly some of the problems that can be encountered when an attempt is made to integrate a program into ongoing institutional operations. Such intrusions are viewed as "elitist," and "sibling rivalries" develop as other segments of the program view the special treatment section as receiving preferential consideration. The resulting conflict often leads to a subtle sabotaging of the program with a great deal of verbal undermining of program objectives. A program in this kind of setting will have difficulty initiating procedures that are not congruent with traditional activities.

This problem may be overcome, however, by identifying those individuals with the strongest opposition to or resentment of the program and involving them to whatever extent possible. In fulfilling their new duties, they may abandon their opposition and become strong program supporters.

Another difficulty in attempting to integrate a program within a larger institutional or program setting is known as "radiation of effects" - that is, competition and exchange of ideas leads to a spread of the positive aspects of the program to comparison or control situations. This impairs evaluation efforts by minimizing differences between the experimental and control groups.

A well-articulated organizational structure is necessary to support the program. This includes ongoing training programs to insure that counselors who have undergone initial training are up-to-date in their skills. In addition, new counselors must be constantly trained for replacements as transfers and promotions occur, and to activate new groups if the program is an expanding one.

Organizational support is also necessary to develop a system of monitoring ongoing counseling activity. Such monitoring is necessary to insure the quality of counseling and to maintain consistency with whatever theoretical approach is chosen. Freed from such constraints, programs tend to become quite amorphous and ill-defined. Activities within the group take on the character of the personality of the leader and may range from didactic lectures, to amateur religious services, to exercises in the formation of democratic structures. While all such approaches may be very valuable, it is doubtful that all fit in a single, pre-determined treatment approach. Without consistency of counseling, evaluations are of little consequence, for those interpreting the results would not be at all certain as to what activities the observed results are attributable.

An Overview

In this monograph, a short history of correctional counseling was presented, followed by an examination of currect counseling approaches. This was accompanied by an explanation of how the setting, clientele, and level of corrections should be considered to determine what counseling method will be used. A corrollary of this last factor is a consideration of the different needs of different clients, and how they lend themselves to various counseling methods. Particular attention was given to new, innovative approaches to correctional counseling. These include matching client and counselor, peer counseling programs, group homes for juveniles, and Therapeutic Communities.

A few studies of the effectiveness of correctional counseling were also reviewed. Results tend to show that, while counseling has not yet been as effective as we would like, it usually results in an improvement of institutional climate and, in a few cases, an improved parole adjustment.

This review was followed by some guidelines for the implementation of counseling programs in correctional institutions. The importance of clearly defined objectives was stressed as was the importance of matching the counseling program with the objectives and resources of the institution. The process of staff selection and staff training was also discussed.

Now is the time to move forward with careful applications of the various types of counseling along with particularly careful evaluation efforts to determine if and where gains are being made. We must carefully appraise our efforts, and align them with realistic goals. Counselors and therapists have often felt they have the answers to the problems of recidivism and other crime, but these are linked to sociological and economic variables, and cannot be solved by merely counseling the offenders. We can, though, provide humanistic environments for those offenders so they can learn alternative approaches to their problems, and counseling is an important part of this effort.

The age of "treatment"--with its connotations of "illness"--and the forced application of "cures" is ending, while a more enlightened approach is beginning to emerge. This approach involves integrated programs designed to facilitate the learning of those social skills necessary to freely choose a life style that is rewarding for both the individual and society. In this approach, all involved are models and teachers, and the offenders are treated with fairness and respect, thereby reducing anger and emotionality and enhancing the learning process.

We cannot continue to coerce offenders into conformity. We must provide those experiences necessary to individual adjustment and meaningfulness in life. For most this comes through opportunities for intellectual and emotional growth. Why not for offenders?

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